

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 DHA-02 SSO-00  
NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 /079 W  
-----022023 211927Z /46

O P 211845Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8149  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 3611

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG US SF WA  
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: TALKING POINTS FOR SAG; PROPOSED  
MEETINGS WITH BOTHA AND VORSTER

REF: A) PRETORIA 3477; B) USUN 2298; C) STATE 168845

1. ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE AMBASSADORS, I MET  
TODAY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TO PROVIDE HIM WITH  
THE AMENDED VERSION OF THE FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA  
6(B) OF THE TALKING POINTS WE HAD PRESENTED HIM JULY 14.  
AFTER I MADE THE ORAL STATEMENT ADVISING HIM THE  
SENTENCE WAS BASED ON THE LOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF  
PARA 14, TICK 3 OF THE JUNE 9 NON-PAPER, BOTHA ASKED  
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TO SEE THAT REFERENCE. UPON COMPARING IT WITH THE  
AMENDED SENTENCE HE SAID THROUGH THE INCLUSION OF  
THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE ARMED FORCES WE HAD  
ADDED A NEW ELEMENT. THIS WAS NOT IN THE NON-PAPER WHICH  
SPOKE ONLY OF "INTIMIDATION FROM WHATEVER QUARTER."  
I SAID THE GENERAL LANGUAGE DID INCLUDE THE ARMED  
FORCES AND THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE REFLECTED THAT THIS

WAS AN AREA OF SPECIAL CONCERN. BOTHA COUNTERED THAT SWAPO IS MORE OF AN INTIMIDATING FORCE THAN THE SAG FORCES AND SHOULD ALSO BE INCLUDED. REPEATING HIS ARGUMENT THAT WITHDRAWAL OF THE ARMED FORCES PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE HAS NOT BEEN AGREED, BOTHA SAID THE SAG RESPONSE WOULD TAKE STRONG EXCEPTION TO THE REFERENCE TO THEM IN THE AMENDED SENTENCE.

2. PARANTHETICALLY BOTHA ADDED THAT IF SWAPO EVER AGREES TO THE PROPOSALS BEING DEVELOPED BY THE FIVE, WHICH HE DOUBTED, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD INSIST THAT ALL UN FINANCING OF SWAPO CEASE IN ORDER TO PUT IT ON A PAR WITH TURNHALLE SO THAT NEITHER HAD ANY OFFICIAL SUPPORT. I COMMENTED THAT THESE ARE MATTERS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UN.

3. BOTHA NEXT FLOATED THE IDEA OF PUBLISHING IN THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE A SIMPLE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE STATE PRESIDENT HAD ESTABLISHED THE OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. THIS HE DESCRIBED AS A FORMALITY WHICH HAD AT SOME POINT TO BE TAKEN BEFORE THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL COULD BE INSTALLED. SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE, I REQUESTED THAT HE NOT DO THIS. I POINTED OUT THAT JUST AS THE NAMING OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL HAD MADE THINGS MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE CONTACT GROUP, SUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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A STEP, REGARDLESS OF HOW ROUTINE IT SEEMED FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW, WOULD FURTHER COMPLICATE THE TASK OF THE CONTACT GROUP. THIS REQUEST, I SAID, FELL WITHIN THE SCOPE OF PARA 6 (A) (2) OF THE JULY 14 TALKING POINTS CONTEMPLATING DISCUSSION AND AGREEMENT WITH THE CG BEFORE PROMULGATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. BOTHA DID NOT RESPOND IN TERMS OF WHETHER OR NOT THE SAG WOULD GO AHEAD WITH GAZETTING OF PROVISIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE. THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE FIRMNESS OF OUR POSITION WAS REFLECTED IN HIS COMPLAINT THAT WE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND HIS PROBLEMS AND OUR POSITION CREATED SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES. REFLECTING FURTHER FRUSTRATION HE SAID THAT THE SAG COULD NOT GO ON POSTPONING ACTION ON THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL INDEFINITELY AND HE WANTED US TO KNOW THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WOULD PROBABLY BE IN PLACE BY MID-AUGUST. AGAIN I STRESSED THAT SUCH A STEP NOT BE TAKEN WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE CONTACT GROUP.

4. REGARDING THE FOLLOW-UP TO OUR JULY 14 MEETING ON THE TALKING POINTS, BOTHA SAID HE WANTED THE

FIVE AMBASSADORS TO MEET WITH HIM AND BRAND FOURIE FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 29. THAT WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE AFTERNOON THAT SAME DAY. AT THE MORNING MEETING HE WANTED TO DISCUSS THE TALKING POINTS AND SPEAK "IN BROAD TERMS" ABOUT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. I SAID THAT I WOULD CONSULT WITH MY COLLEAGUES ABOUT THE PROPOSED MEETINGS.

5. AFTER I BRIEFED THE OTHER FOUR AMBASSADORS ON THE FOREGOING, WE CONCLUDED, SUBJECT TO THE VIEWS OF THE CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK AND OUR GOVERNMENTS, THAT (1) WE SHOULD AGREE TO THE PROPOSED MEETINGS, (2) THE MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE CONDITIONAL  
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ON THE RESULTS OF THE MORNING SESSION WITH BOTHA AND FOURIE, AND (3) WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR AT THE MORNING SESSION THAT WE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO MAKE COMMITMENTS REGARDING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT THE CONTACT GROUP.

6. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE (BY NO LATER THAN OPENING OF BUSINESS TUESDAY, JULY 26,) REGARDING THE PROPOSED JULY 29 MEETINGS WITH BOTHA AND VORSTER AND FURTHER ACTION CG WANTS US TO TAKE ON PROPOSED PUBLISHING OF ACT INSTITUTING OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL.  
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